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Not To Be Read Till The 25th Of December

► IT IS COMMON knowledge that Christmas was originally probably not a Christian feast, but a Mithraic one adopted by Christians. Origen, writing in the third century A.D., denounced as sinful any recognition of the birthday of Christ "as if he were King Pharaoh." And the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition) tells us: "Outside Teutonic countries Christmas presents are unknown." Any objection therefore to commercial exploitation of the festival on the ground that it is pagan is misguided. Christmas whatever its origin is very good for business: we all profit by it, and, if we are sensible, we all enjoy it.

The sentimental aspect of it is pleasing too. We love our friends, not for their powers, but for their weaknesses, and there is something very appealing in the notion that God Himself should have a birthday, should have become helpless and in need of small human attentions, like having His diaper changed, or His ears cleaned. We cannot be moved to goodness by what we cannot love, or by any philosophical abstraction, however noble. But the God of Christmas (whether pagan or Christian) is human and vulnerable, and what with His story, and sweet singing and candlelight and laughter, and good wine and whiskey, and children's faces flushed with excitement, we feel a surge of affection for friends and a marked loosening at the purse-strings.

We are even prepared to buy presents for enemies, like those western Indians who replaced warfare with the gentler

(Continued on page 215)



Current Comment

A New Parliament With Old Ways

Canada's 23rd Parliament has taken up where the 22nd left off last April. The Conservatives are acting as though they were still the opposition and the Liberals as though they were the government while many private members have merely resumed the meandering course of their interrupted natter. John Locke's remark three centuries ago that "men are not easily got out of their old ways" applies admirably to the new Canadian Parliament.

Mr. Diefenbaker has had considerable difficulty remembering that he is the prime minister and that Mr. St. Laurent is the leader of the opposition. In his first speech he kept referring to his opponent as "the Right Honourable Prime Minister", and more significantly, in reply to questions in the House, he continually displays his former truculent manner, gibing sarcastically at the Liberals as though they were still running the country. Whether this is a conditioned response or a subconscious wish is a question for the practitioners of "the black art of psychology", as Leacock called it. Mr. Diefenbaker has certainly not yet proved himself to have a prime minister's mentality, or indeed anything in excess of an apocalyptic old-style preacher's passionate platitudes. How long it will be before the Canadian people will see through Mr. Diefenbaker is an intriguing guessing game.

The Liberal front bench has not distinguished itself in opposition. Former ministers Sinclair, Chevrier, and Martin have made themselves look ridiculous by flinging warmed-over election diatribes at the Tory administration and then meekly voting for it. Criticism is ragged and erratic. The Liberals are clearly suffering from the lack of a firm directing hand. The party drifts dangerously and desultorily while Mr. St. Laurent passively sits out his term as lame-duck president before he gives way to his successor in January. It is a pity for the Liberals that the new leader is not now in his place drawing his forces together and preparing them for the expected election. In the hiatus between leaders no one is willing to take a bold step forward lest he be caught off balance and pushed over. Mr. Pearson, in his one major speech on domestic issues, did not clinch his claim to the crown. Mr. Pickersgill made a much better speech. Once again, as in the Conservative days in opposition, the CCF is left by default the opportunity of becoming the real opposition. The socialists, however, are also suffering from want of fresh enthusiasm.

The lachrymose state of the Liberals was summed up well by Minister-without-portfolio J. M. Macdonnell in a speech of rare distinction in the House because of its literary quality. He quoted Disraeli's description of the Liberals who confronted him:

"Some took refuge in melancholy, and their eminent chief alternated between a menace and a sigh . . . (They) reminded me of those marine landscapes not very unusual on the coasts of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest. But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea."

On the Tory side of the House the batting averages of the new ministers answering questions thrown at them have not been uniformly high. Some have struck out and some have hit homers. On the whole the heavyweights have not done as

well as the rookies. Prime Minister Diefenbaker and Finance Minister Fleming have tended to be snappish and impatient. Trade Minister Churchill has fanned wildly (especially on the curved ball of sending a trade delegation to Red China). Messrs Balcer and Comptois have shown how weak the Tory team is in French recruits. Messrs Fulton, Harkness, Green, and Parkes have done well. But the unexpected star has been George Hees. Dismissed in opposition by his adversaries as a good-looking amateur, Mr. Hees has astonished every one by his strong performance as minister of transport. Courteous, amiable, and informed, he has not only fielded well the multiplicity of hits directed towards his department but he knocked the Hon. Lionel Chevrier out of the box when that old pro tried to pitch him an inside spin on the matter of patronage in employment on the St. Lawrence seaway. Mr. Hees has been putting in overtime on his training and the hard work has achieved its reward.

More hard work by most of the members of the House might improve the standard of debate. A general election and a change of government have not checked the growing deterioration in House manners and speeches. In fact the prospect of another election soon seems to have encouraged rudeness and triviality. It is appalling that Parliament sets such a bad example. Cries of "sit down", "shut up", "thank God", and the use of first names ("You are making a pitch, are you, Jack?") are becoming common, though it was left

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to this session for one member to call his honorable colleagues "you monkeys over there" and for another to say, "Just hold the phone, boy, and you'll get it."

The same tired old arguments, worn-out maxims, and empty phrases keep making their weary rounds. This session they have been multiplied by heart-rendering paeans of praise from all sides for increased pensions for "senior citizens" (who were found to be political dynamite in 1957) and by ear-splitting attempts at bilingualism. It is a sure sign that the Quebec vote is of crucial importance when so many Anglo-Saxons commence speaking French. At least two Toronto MPs included a paragraph in French in their maiden addresses and another veteran Torontonian (all three were Tories) confessed, "It is my greatest regret that I am not bilingual." No doubt it is also Mr. Diefenbaker's greatest regret that he is not. Though he puts a great deal of creditable effort into speaking French, what comes out can only be described as Canada's third national language, election French.

Another Toronto Conservative who has mastered the language rather well, Mr. Roland Michener, has been appointed Speaker. He has begun his term auspiciously by giving his first decision against the government, a healthy change. He no doubt will also try to lift the level of debate and deportment in the House, though it is questionable that any Speaker, however determined, could achieve much by himself against the dead weight of so many of the 265 members. The Canadian Parliament stands in danger of being eclipsed, not by any malevolent encroachment by the executive, but by the inadequacy of its own performance. P. W. F.

John Bartlet Brebner

The death of John Bartlet Brebner, although it came after long and serious illness, came none the less as a shock to those who knew the man and valued his work. Brebner's was so lively a mind, so vital a spirit, that one simply never thought of his passing or conceived of Canadian historical scholarship without him. But he has gone now, and we must accept the loss and take stock of a world without him.

It is not easy suddenly to check in mid stride and turn to consider what has always been there and is there no longer, to stop to value what has heretofore been taken for granted. For Brebner it cannot be done simply by listing his works with appreciative comment and noting his offices and honors. He was a presence and an influence in the world of Canadian scholarship. This was not merely because he was a respected and productive scholar, but pre-eminently because he was a personality, crisp, definite and debonair. Something courageous, something jaunty, is gone. The writer, though never an associate or even a close acquaintance of Brebner, rarely formed a new judgment in Canadian history or mediated on some novelty in his researches without more or less consciously wondering what Brebner, among a select few, might have thought of it. In this way, one may suppose, as well as by his writings, he conditioned the thinking of all his colleagues in Canadian historical research.

How Brebner definitively affected Canadian historiography is, however, not easy to say. One does not associate his work with original ideas, with a particular point of view, or with an especially distinctive style. He was, perhaps above all his contemporaries in Canadian historical scholarship, the *classical* historian. By that is meant that his historical concepts were never developed as generalizations abstracted from his work, but emerged as the contours of each study were established. Any reader of his two books on Nova Scotia, *Nova Scotia; New England's Outpost* and *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia*, knows precisely and could put in a sentence

what Brebner thought that part played by Nova Scotia in American history had been. But the books are left as works of art to speak each as a whole.

By *classical* is also meant that Brebner was always at pains to write well, and in fact possessed a clear narrative style of great competence, which is seen at its best in *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806*, which after a German edition and reprints, has scored the final triumph of a paperback edition. Now that many historians are becoming men of letters, perhaps somewhat self-consciously, it is well to note that a good number of the craft never ceased to write for the general reader and in fact gained and held his attention.

Brebner was, of course, a Canadian, born in Toronto in 1895 and educated at the University of Toronto, at Oxford and at Columbia. He taught at Toronto in the early twenties, and went to Columbia in 1925. There he remained until his death, except for the year 1955-56 — when he was Pitt Professor at Cambridge University. Brebner was thus a Canadian historian teaching and writing in a great American university. Nothing in his conversation or his writings even suggested that he felt any incongruity or experienced any cross-tug of loyalties in this situation, and there is no reason to suppose that he did. In fact, of course, he rendered great services to the study of Canadian-American relations by assisting Dr. James T. Shotwell to organize and edit the Canadian-American Relations Series, financed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. As well, Brebner collaborated in the production of M. L. Hansen's *The Mingling of the Canadian and American People* for that Series. He himself, in a remarkable *tour de force*, summed up the Series in his *North Atlantic Triangle*, undoubtedly the most influential of his books. And while one begins to feel that the Series and *North Atlantic Triangle* belong to the mood of a generation which is passing, and that Canadian-American relations must henceforth be discussed in more detached and sophisticated terms, yet the Series remain the great dominating range in the co-operative scholarship of Canada and the United States and Brebner's book a great contribution to the mutual understanding of two peoples too little differentiated to be able to bring one another into focus.

Certain it is, even if many Canadian historians are compelled to dig more deeply than their predecessors into the processes by which the Canadian nation was formed, that a number will always be drawn to the endlessly fascinating and always inevitable subject of Canadian-American relations. For them during many years Brebner's *Triangle* will remain the text book, the point of take-off. It will be well if they acquire from it something of his steady vision and candid temper.

It would be ungrateful to end these few, all too hasty, remarks, without noting the service Brebner rendered to Canadian scholarship in general by his examination of the conditions under which Canadian scholars were asked to work, and by his trenchant comments on them in his booklet *Scholarship for Canada*. At a time when private benefactors were wanting and governments negligent to the point of criminality, Brebner flatly said the conditions of Canadian scholarship were disgraceful and must be improved. His efforts, with those of the Massey Commission and the Research Councils, have resulted in a beginning being made at increasing the opportunities for scholarship in Canada. Nothing, it may be guessed, can have given this fine Canadian scholar more satisfaction, and for this as well as for his books, he should be remembered.

W. L. MORTON.

The Subliminal Projection Project

► THOMAS EDISON conceived that the gramophone would be mainly of use as a means of recording the dying words of celebrities. The inventors of the typewriter, in the same way, saw that it would have no use in the business world since there the personal touch of calligraphy was all-important. The age of automation is to be an age of do-it-yourself, but on all hands there rises the moan of the individualists who clearly see that automation means ultimate personal enslavement.

The inveterate human habit of looking at the present scene through old-fashioned casements is fatal to survival in a period of accelerated change. And ours is a culture in which change is the stable factor. The electronic revolution has carried us beyond mechanization. This fact dawned on poets and artists shortly after the arrival of the telegraph. Edgar Poe in the 1840's devised the symbolic poem and the detective story as do-it-yourself packages. The reader was for the first time accepted as co-poet with the author. The imaginative minds of the nineteenth century instantly grasped the fact of co-existence as the consequence of the telegraph as linked to newspaper, and acted at once to implement the fact.

Rimbaud invented the newspaper landscape poem in 1870, giving the world a new art-form which provided luminous interpretation of the new technology. But many of his readers still profess to find themselves baffled by his art. This can only mean that they are equally baffled by their daily paper. And this is quite likely.

One immediate consequence of the telegraph was a huge extension of the concept of democracy, but when the poets took this challenge to mean that the audience must now assume the status of co-creator the public was not flattered. A hundred years later every ad agency spells out the 1850 poetic message as "the new leisure era of creative participation."

There are no moving parts in electronic equipment.

In passing beyond mechanization (via the instantaneous information route of the electronic age) we have also entered a new world of co-existence and of inclusive consciousness. This fact applies to production and marketing as much as to psychiatry. Man has acquired a vast new inflated status but he has thereby become dirigible in several senses. As we take for granted knowledge not of segments but of total field relationships in personal and political existence alike, we also acquire directive or make-happen powers at many levels. For 500 years our idea of efficacy and efficiency was rooted in the technology of explicitness. To make happen and to explain scientifically have both meant the consecutive spelling out of consequences, one at a time. In the electronic age we enter the phase of the technology of implicitness in which by grasp of total field relationships we package information and deliver messages on many levels, all in an instant.

Now there is nothing new about the subliminal projection project. Even as a mere gimmick in the lab it is old. As a normal part of our experience it is very old, indeed. All our lives we get messages without getting the meaning, or we intuit complex meanings without being specifically aware of the message. And this latter we have always held as the best part of education, namely "cultural conditioning". In fact, the next stage beyond subliminal projection has already occurred in the providing of TV for the blind by direct wire to the brain centers, by-passing external physical perception altogether. This latter step is slightly more contemporary

than the crudities of subliminal projection, and for those who enjoy the thrills of moral alarm here is a field indeed in which to cavort. Since there is nothing to prevent all of us being provided with cranial wall-plugs which would permit instruction in all subjects to occur endlessly during a physical sleep which could be indefinitely prolonged.

A subject like subliminal projection is thus a red-herring which encourages the inattentive suddenly to snap to attention while they glimpse a cultural march-past of facts and figures which they should have mastered decades earlier.

For example, we are swiftly moving at present from an era when business was our culture into an era when culture will be our business. Between these poles stands the huge and ambiguous entertainment industries. As the new media unfold their powers the entertainment industries swallow more and more of the old business culture. The movie industry is thus an inseparable portion of the advertising industry in providing the necessary drama of consumption for which the ads merely provide the news. But the ad agencies have had to extend their awareness of all media to the point where they monopolize the kinds of savvy necessary to politics as well as to consumption. Political parties as agency clients is a development most unwelcome to the agencies. But they are hastening towards self-liquidation by virtue of the very pressures which make them indispensable to business and politics old-style.

It takes no very subliminal type of perception to see business propelling itself eagerly toward the cultural shore by multiple programs of Proust for executives. More and more the cultural man finds the business man easier to talk to than his academic colleagues, because the business-man in the electronic age continues to be a realist and therefore to be in touch with the changes which have actually occurred in the past twenty years. The business man knows how irrelevant is the concept of sovereign rights in the electronic age of co-existence, but sovereign rights of subject and specialty are frantically maintained in what William Whyte, Jr., calls the university jungle.

Meantime the young are undergoing a total conditioning by subliminal projection which is quite independent of anything they get at school or college. This very broad and very confused conditioning via new media is all the more effective for being bracketed in our old-fashioned style as "entertainment". If we had the slightest strategy for the preservation of values we would at once re-package entertainment as culture and snap it out of the subliminal projection area which now confers on it the power of uncritical and omnipotent persuasion. There is no difference of result between our entertainment industry and the Asian or Soviet brain-washing programs. Our revulsion is irrationally channelled towards the deliberate intention of reshaping consciousness, because we have had centuries to devise more subtle and complex ways of achieving the same end. But more important, we are shocked to see the electronic crash program for mental rehabilitation in action, having ourselves invested so much in the pre-electronic methods. The Soviet and Asian areas having so little pre-electronic technology feel no inhibitions about following the logic of the electronic and the instantaneous.

In her *New Lives For Old* Margaret Mead reports on the Admiralty Islands revolution from the stone age to the jet age in ten years. Her argument is that this speed is kinder than gradualness and less corrosive of morale. All of us experience the alienation of our own children from our own ways to the ways of the jet age. Yet we persist in the subliminal mode of apprehension ourselves. We insist on using archaic concepts for processing and observing our most urgent problems. Let us recall the two Navaho Indians who

were having a leisurely chat by smoke signals when an atom blast occurred between them. Later, one of them sent up a comment, "Gee, I wish I'd said that."

MARSHALL MCLUHAN.

Canadian Calendar

- Canada's international trade deficit—excess of imports over exports—declined in September for the fifth consecutive month. Imports during the month rose in value to \$447,000,000 from \$437,000,000 in the corresponding month a year ago—a gain of \$9,300,000. However, exports increased by \$14,900,000 to \$424,200,000 from \$409,300,000 a year ago.
- Canada's trade deficit in the 7-month period ending July 31 reached a record of \$604,300,000, an increase of almost \$11,000,000 from the same period of 1956.
- The Diefenbaker Government proposes to increase to \$55 a month the pensions being paid to the aged, the blind and disabled.
- Prime Minister Diefenbaker announced on October 22 that Canada will contribute \$35,000,000 to the Colombo Plan in 1958 (\$600,000 more than the 1957 Canadian contribution).
- Canada led the world in wheat exports in August (27,200,000 bushels).
- Key officials of the Canada Council are to make a cross-country tour seeking new ideas for the development of the arts and sciences, it was announced by Brooke Claxton, chairman of the Council.
- The Northern Affairs Department announced on October 21 that artifacts collected this summer in the Southern Yukon territory establish a more definite link between the tribes of Asia and the ancient inhabitants of the North American interior.
- On October 16, Prime Minister Diefenbaker told the Commons that his government would enact legislation for cash advances on farm-stored western wheat, establish a committee to investigate farm-price spreads, guarantee the Maritime Provinces cheaper electric power and make a start on the South Saskatchewan dam. He also intended to introduce a measure to abolish closure.
- Personal savings on deposit with the Canadian chartered banks reached a peak of \$6,272,000,000 on August 31, compared with \$5,941,000,000 on August 31, 1956.
- A Royal Commission has been appointed (Oct. 15) to make recommendations as to the most effective use of Canada's sources of energy, such as oil, natural gas, coal, water and uranium. It will have power to delve into the financing of Trans-Canada Pipe Lines Ltd., and to form the basis for the establishment of a national energy board. It will be headed by Henry Borden, president of Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co. The other five commissioners will be: J. L. Levesque of Montreal, G. C. Cushing of Ottawa, G. E. Britnell of Saskatchewan, R. D. Howland of Halifax and L. J. Ladner of Vancouver.
- A bold plan to raise the prosperity of the Maritime provinces to the level of the rest of the country was unfolded in the Commons by Prime Minister Diefenbaker on Nov. 14. It involves loans of more than \$125,000,000 for power development and power lines in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick plus an annual expenditure on subsidies on coal mined in those provinces and used in the operation of steam power plants.
- The Canadian lumber industry on the whole has suffered a decrease of approximately 25 per cent in business to date this year.
- A six-month study by scientists from three countries has shown that year-round navigation with relative ease and reasonable safety by reinforced ships on the St. Lawrence from Quebec City to the sea is possible.
- Canada ranks tenth among the world's countries in the per capita holding of library books, according to a recent UNESCO survey. Canada has about one-third the number of books in Swedish libraries and about half the number of those in the United Kingdom.
- Farquhar Oliver resigned on November 12 as leader of the Ontario Liberals.
- A contract has been signed between the government of Mexico and the National Ballet of Canada for a three-week engagement next June by the Canadian company, C. B. Guild, general manager of the National Ballet, announced on November 13.
- Canadian production of steel ingots in October totalled 386,549 tons, a decrease of 19 per cent from 454,973 tons in October, 1956.
- The Canadian Government announced on November 8 that it will provide Burma with more than \$600,000 worth of aid under the Colombo Plan.
- The trade mission which the government is sending to Great Britain on November 21 will be led by Trade Minister Churchill and will consist of about 50 members, mainly business men (20 from Toronto), though labor and agriculture are also represented. The mission will remain in the United Kingdom until December 18, visiting factories and conferring with industrial and government representatives. Expansion of British exports to Canada is sought.
- More than 3000 engineers left Canada between 1951 and 1956, a figure equivalent to about one-third of the graduating classes of that period and 10 per cent of all the professional engineers in Canada. 800 other scientists also left Canada in those years.
- Canadian Pacific Airlines announced on November 13 that it will apply shortly for permission to compete fully with Trans-Canada Air Lines on the Montreal-Vancouver run.
- The government-owned company, Canadian National West Indies Steamships Ltd., will transfer the registry of its eight ships from Canada to Trinidad, in order to remove them from the jurisdiction of the Seafarers' International Union, whose demands would have involved the taxpayers paying an annual deficit of nearly \$450,000 on the operation of the line.
- Crude oil production in Alberta dropped to an average 250,000 barrels daily during the week ending November 4, compared with 300,848 barrels the previous week and 380,320 barrels in the corresponding week in 1956.
- Shipments of Canadian newsprint to export markets other than the United States continue at a level well above that of a year ago and, in the past four years, have almost doubled.
- Mayor Jean Drapeau of Montreal was turned out of office in a city election on October 28 and was replaced by Sarto Fournier.
- Canadian department store sales in the first 9 months of this year rose 4.5 per cent over the same 1956 period to a record high of \$853,517,000.

• The cumulative total of construction contract awards in Canada for the first ten months of 1957 stands at \$2,452,523,500, which is \$580,626,400 (or 17 per cent) short of the 10-month total for 1956. Business construction is the only category that is slightly ahead of last year.

• Justice Minister Fulton announced on November 6 that he has ordered prosecution to be started in a combines inquiry begun six years ago into merger and monopoly allegations against E. P. Taylor's Canadian Breweries Ltd.

• Premier Campbell of Manitoba says that that province, which seven years ago had practically no oil, now supplies half its own needs and will some day be self-sufficient.

• The 200 forestry students who fled from Hungary with their professors a year ago and found a new home at the University of British Columbia are making a valuable contribution to the life of UBC, according to Dean Allen of the Faculty of Forestry at UBC.

• Housing construction activity in Canada during the 9-month period ending September 30 was roughly 20 per cent below corresponding totals for the previous year.

• External Affairs Minister Sidney Smith won a seat in the Commons on November 4, scoring an easy by-election victory in the Ontario constituency of Hastings-Frontenac.

• It is understood that Princess Margaret will tour Canada next year. She will attend the British Columbia centenary celebration and is expected also to visit Ottawa and other cities.

• India has agreed to accept \$7,000,000 of Canadian wheat as part of our contribution to the Colombo Plan. Together with other shipments to Pakistan and Ceylon total wheat shipments under the Colombo Plan this year will amount to \$10,000,000 worth.

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Space Flight and Security

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► ON OCTOBER 4, 1957 the U.S.S.R. initiated man's travel into outer space by launching a man-made satellite. The subsequent achievement of the Soviet Union in carrying an animal beyond the upper reaches of the atmosphere has by now left little doubt in most minds of the truly epoch-making nature of these events. From a scientific and technological viewpoint it can be said with near certainty that in the future Soviet exploits will include more animal carrying satellites, the re-entry and recovery of satellites both with and without life aboard, and the re-entry of manned satellites.

American reaction to Soviet accomplishments extends over a spectrum of emotions ranging from a continuing apathy on the part of a remarkably large number of the well-informed to sheer terror in a somewhat smaller segment of the population. However, among American scientists connected with the United States advanced missile programs there has been on the whole a much more uniform feeling. The reaction of this group was one of shock and dismay at having seen come to pass events which had been so definitely foreseen for over three years.

About the past events we need say little more than that an investigation is required to discover who contributed to one of our greatest debacles and that those responsible must not be allowed to exercise their incompetence further in domains which they do not understand. For the future, we must answer the following question: What are the military implications of the already existing Soviet devices, as well as of the gamut of space vehicles proposed by engineers and scientists? What are the economic implications of missile development and space travel within the context of the present balance of power? What course of action should be adopted by the United States? It is my belief that upon the answers to these questions hinges the fate of the West today.

If we acknowledge that peaceful co-existence can only be achieved through the maintenance of a retaliatory power capable of deterring the Soviet Union from expansionist aims, then we admit to the idea of a balance of power in weapons until such time as disarmament can become a reality through the ultimate recognition of the futility of an atomic war. Today such a balance of power is not measured by the number of weapons, but rather by their technological effectiveness. Although President Eisenhower has calmed the American people by pointing out that there are thirty-eight missiles in various stages of development and production, let us not be misled. For if none of these has a capability equal to those in the Soviet arsenal their ultimate usefulness in total war may be all but nil.

Today as a result of the successful Soviet satellite firings we know that they now possess the technical means of producing intercontinental ballistic missiles with atomic and hydrogen warheads capable of striking from Russian-occu-

The author is an Associate Professor of Engineering at Brown University and has been an active consultant in the United States ballistic missile program for the past several years.

pied soil every Strategic Air Command base throughout the world within thirty minutes. At the present time and in the near future, according to Washington, there is no way by which such missiles can be stopped. Clearly, then, the most urgent and immediate task which faces us is the need for obtaining operational intercontinental ballistic missiles, and not satellites. No political or economic barrier must be allowed to stand in the way—for our scientific and technical capabilities permit us to do the job.

This is not meant to imply that satellites and space travel do not have military applications, but rather that these applications are still somewhat distant, although not as far away as some would like to think. Indeed, it is my belief that outer space vehicles will eventually prove to be the source of military superiority. For example, we have been told that satellites have no military significance since they have a fixed orbit and so can be shot down. However, it should be pointed out that in the past every technological advance has found its way to military application, and, although it is difficult to visualize satellites as a direct weapon, we must nonetheless bear in mind that it is necessary to crawl before we can walk. Therefore without slowing down our I.C.B.M. program we must push forward with utmost speed the development of satellites, manned re-entry, and space stations. All of these programs could, of course, be materially aided by certain fundamental new scientific advances, but nevertheless they present no barriers which would not be broken by applying creative engineering thought in combination with presently known scientific principles.

The course of action demanded of the United States in order to carry out the previously cited objectives is clear, and its basic requirement is leadership. The leadership is needed for a reorganization in governmental thinking and planning. The program for the production of the I.C.B.M. must be completed at all costs, utilizing presently existing facilities regardless of any economic waste involved.

Beyond the previously cited objective the development of all future missiles and space devices should be placed under a new Space Commission composed in large part of capable creative engineers and scientists who are aware of the problems posed by space flight. This commission should be independent of the military services and should have complete authority in its field for requisition and development. Furthermore, all programs undertaken by such a commission should be organized in the manner of the Manhattan Project.

Another urgent requirement is the appointment of a scientist to the President's cabinet. Such an appointment is needed in order to co-ordinate and direct at the executive level all scientific-engineering development and education in the United States.

The need for federal support for education and basic research is also urgent. The recognition of this need has been slow among Americans, including educators and university presidents.

Development of the kind which I describe, apart from requiring a new type of creative scientist, is expensive and indeed runs three to four times the present outlay on missiles. In the future these outlays will most certainly increase. If we are to catch up with the U.S.S.R., and I believe this may take as long as ten years, then we must face up to the fact that the present defence budget will probably have to be doubled. In terms of annual gross national product this is not large, but it would nevertheless mean a reduction to some extent in the present standard of living of all Americans.

It would seem in the light of what I have attempted to point out that although the direction in which the President is moving is the right one, he has still not dealt either specifically or strongly with the problems previously raised.

In spite of the complacency of America, it is therefore necessary for every individual to realize that we are at war, and such a state requires corresponding sacrifices. The cry is for leadership and individual sacrifice, for this may be the last chance of the West. The question is: Who shall be in the vanguard of the Sputnik era?

Middle East Oil Today

F. R. C. Bagley

First of three articles

► OIL CONSUMPTION in the free world has increased since 1945 at an average rate of over 10% p.a.: most rapidly in the underdeveloped countries, and more rapidly in West Europe than in North America. The increase seems likely to continue, but at a less rapid rate. Populations are increasing, and there is scope in Europe for replacement of coal by oil and in the underdeveloped countries for expansion of motor and air transport and of agricultural mechanisation. Atomic energy, though certain to play an important role in electricity generation as a supplement or rival to coal and water power, seems unlikely to be applicable for the propulsion of vehicles or aircraft, or of ships other than naval and perhaps freight-carrying submarines. Missiles propelled by chemical fuels such as boron will probably supplement rather than replace conventional air forces. In the Sputnik age, however, technology may at any time produce the unexpected.

Throughout the free world, oil search continues. Contrary to what was expected in 1945, U.S. production capacity has kept pace with U.S. consumption. A large expansion has been achieved in Venezuela, but Canada's discoveries, like those in eastern Bolivia, are not being fully exploited on account of transport problems. In Indonesia, development and exploration are held up by political conditions. During the past twelve months, discoveries have been made in two new areas: at Oloibiri in the Niger delta, and in the submontane depression of the Algerian Sahara. For one Algerian field, Hadji Messaoud (where oil was struck at 10,000 ft.), an annual capacity of 10m. tons is predicted; for the other, Edjelé, 1½m. tons.

There is thus no present prospect of any significant modification of the non-communist eastern hemisphere's dependence on Middle East oil. Production in the M.E., now running at about 180m. tons p.a., supplies 80% of the needs of W. Europe, over half the needs of Africa, Australasia and non-communist Asia, and appreciable quantities to N. and S. America (14 m. tons to the U.S. in 1955).

The great oilfields of the M.E. lie in the Persian Gulf geosyncline, which comprises the Mesopotamian plain, the shores and bed of the Gulf and possibly also the sands of the Empty Quarter (Rub' al-Khali). Of the six groups now drilling in the waters of the Gulf, one—Arabian American (ARAMCO)—has already struck oil, off the Sa'udi coast. The Iraq Petroleum (IPC) group is drilling in Oman on the fringe of the Empty Quarter, and last July an "independent" U.S. group (Cities Service—Richfield) discovered oil in an area abandoned by the IPC, namely Dhofar, a western appendage of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. This discovery gives weight to the surmise that the geosyncline extends to or nearly to the Indian Ocean. There can be little doubt that the geosyncline contains well over half the world's oil reserves, and that within it (assuming Sa'udi sovereignty

over most of the Empty Quarter where there are no delimited frontiers), more than half of these reserves belong to Sa'udi Arabia.

Elsewhere in the M.E., small fields are exploited on the Sinai and Red Sea coasts of Egypt and in Turkey, and fields of some importance are indicated in the interior basins of Iran. The Saman-Damghan field, astride the Tehran-Meshhed road, was worked in a small way by Persians in the last century and probably formed the main target of the Soviet drive in 1946 for an Iranian oil concession. In 1950, the National Iranian Oil Co. (NIOC), a state exploration enterprise employing Swiss geologists, discovered oil near Qum, where an extraordinarily rich gusher struck late in 1956 has aroused hopes (as yet unproved) of an important field, perhaps of 20m. tons annual capacity. Last July, the NIOC struck oil at Aliabad in Mazandaran, on the Caspian coast. Oil is also thought to exist in the basin of Lake Rezaiyeh (Urumiyeh) in Iranian Azarbaijan.

The more important, though not all, of the developed fields in the P.G. geosyncline possess extraordinarily favorable geological conditions—moderate depths (e.g. 3000-5000 ft.) and high pressures which make pumping unnecessary. Notwithstanding the heavy social overheads in areas where water supplies, housing, roads, hospitals and schools must all be furnished by the concessionnaire, production costs are the lowest in the world and profits are high. There is no assurance that new fields will prove equally profitable.

Until about 5 years ago, production and marketing of M.E. oil were controlled by 8 "major" companies — 1 British, 1 Dutch-British, 5 American and 1 French. These companies, though competing with one another for markets, have usually maintained uniform attitudes towards the concession-giving governments. Since the 1930s, when Texas and Venezuela supplied most of Europe's needs, companies and governments have concurred, and indeed have had a common interest, in fixing M.E. oil prices at an arbitrarily chosen parity with Gulf of Mexico prices, and since 1949 with Caribbean prices. During the Suez crisis, however, M.E. prices were not raised to the same extent as Texan and Venezuelan prices, and they are still somewhat lower.

In recent years, "independent" companies have appeared on the M.E. scene. The 50-50 profit sharing agreements concluded since 1950 provide that proportions of the concession-giving governments' dues shall be paid in oil, which the governments dispose of partly in their home markets and partly by the sale to both "majors" and "independents". American "independents" participate in the consortium which operates the former Anglo-Iranian concession and have obtained concessions in the Kuwaiti-Sa'udi neutral zone (now producing), in an offshore area and in Dhofar. The "major" companies have long found it profitable to export M.E. oil to the U.S. and Canada, while for the American "independents", who lack outlets in the eastern hemisphere, the N. American market is all-important. Last July, however, President Eisenhower ordered a "voluntary" cut in M.E. oil imports into the U.S. and Alberta is pressing Ottawa for similar action. Maintenance of parity or near-parity between M.E. and western hemisphere price levels is possibly not going to be easy in future.

Since most of the developed M.E. fields possess abundant reserves, expansion of output from those fields would appear in present circumstance to be economically sounder than exploration and development of new fields. The "major" companies are indeed planning such expansion; the consortium is to spend \$140m. on increasing its production in Iran, a jetty for 100,000 ton tankers is being built at Kuwait, etc. The problem is not production, but transit and transportation. Other factors, however, are involved. As an

insurance against political risks, the "major" companies seek to spread their production facilities through different countries, in the M.E. and in the world. For newcomers, prestige as well as profit may be a consideration; but more important, probably, are currency problems. Since 1949-50, the concession-giving governments have been receiving their dues in dollars or convertible currency, while the U.K. and other sterling area governments have ceased discriminating against "dollar (i.e. mainly Sa'udi) oil", in return for an undertaking by ARAMCO to reduce the "dollar content" of its oil by employing Italians, Palestinians and Pakistanis and purchasing non-dollar equipment to the greatest possible extent. This has not solved the problem for consumer countries which are as short of sterling as they are of dollars. Thus, while West Germany, whose mark is as sound as the dollar, shows little desire to invest in M.E. oil development, Italy and Japan sought and obtained concessions.

The concession-giving governments desire that production and revenues be maximized, or initiated, before any eventual technological changes affect demand or price. Iran and Iraq have on hand their massive development plans, while Muscat and the Trucial Shaikhdoms hope for a deliverance from penury. Payment of dues in convertible currency is no longer considered essential. The Iranian government received authority from parliament in July to grant new oil concessions, and in September concluded an agreement with the Italian state petroleum agency AGIP. A company owned 50-50 by NIOC and AGIP is to explore an offshore area in the Gulf, a coastal area east of Bandar Abbas and an inland area near Isfahan. The exploration is to be paid for by AGIP alone, but if it is successful NIOC will refund half the cost. NIOC will also contribute half of the development costs. Half of any profits will go to the Iranian government and half to the joint company for equal distribution between its two shareholders. Concessions in Iran are also being sought by Standard of N.J. and by a Japanese private group. This November, Sa'udi Arabia has granted an offshore concession to the Japanese, who have agreed to pay both a very high initial fee and a 56% share of any profits to the Sa'udi government.

If the Italian and Japanese enterprises reach the production stage, the 50-50 profit sharing agreements governing the earlier concessions will have to be revised. These agreements provide that the governments concerned shall receive treatment in the matter of dues not less favorable than the most favorable treatment enjoyed by any other M.E. government. The 50-50 formula, though it has hitherto given satisfaction, is like the Caribbean price parity altogether arbitrary and need not be regarded as sacrosanct. It seems unlikely, however, that serious disputes like the Anglo-Iranian dispute of 1951-54 (which in any case was political rather than economic) will arise over the question how profits are to be shared between companies and governments. More important to the interests of both sides is the question how profits are to be maximized through maintenance of price levels and expansion of output.

The transit and transportation problems, on which expansion of output primarily depends, and the political and social problems of the producing and transit countries will be discussed in subsequent articles. One other problem remains for discussion here, that of Soviet intentions concerning M.E. oil. In his interview with Mr. Reston of the N.Y. Times last October, Mr. Khrushchev declared that the USSR produces all the oil it needs within its own boundaries and does not want M.E. oil. Soviet oil output is estimated at 90—100m. tons p.a., and Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia also contribute. The figure, if correct, is far below U.S. output, and the USSR has a larger population than the

U.S. The USSR, however, according to Mr. Khrushchev, plans to outstrip the U.S. in every field of production down to consumer goods and foodstuffs. It is moreover known that the Baku field is declining. If Mr. Khrushchev's statement to Mr. Reston is untrue, the fields from which Russia could most economically import oil would be those of northern Iran. It is indeed doubtful in view of their location whether oil from them could be economically exported to any market other than Russia. Two attempts by U.S. companies to develop the northern Iranian oil, in 1923 and 1938, failed because Russia would not buy. In 1946, the British, unlike the Americans, urged the Iranians to grant the Russians an oil concession, on the grounds that a dog in the manger policy would lead to greater trouble. The Iranians, however, felt with reason that a Soviet oil company on their soil would form not only a state within the state (as did the Anglo-Iranian company to some extent already) but also an instrument for the communization or partition of their country. The present Iranian régime stands firmly in the Western camp and has joined the Baghdad Pact. Rather than admit any foreign concessionaire into northern Iran, the government has decided that the Qum field shall be developed by the NIOC and is seeking capital for this purpose and for the construction of a pipeline through which its output can be exported to the West. All this is subject to confirmation of the field's potentialities. The route envisaged will pass through very mountainous country via Rezaiyeh to the Turkish frontier and thence to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Mersin. The Turks have granted specially generous right of way terms. The capital required seems likely, however, to be formidable—perhaps \$500m.—and the profitability of the scheme in present circumstances can only be regarded as problematical; the Iranians may accordingly have difficulty in raising such a sum from Western private sources. If Western governments consider the scheme to be desirable on political grounds, they must be prepared to take a financial risk and help Iran's friendly régime to overcome its dilemma. (Latest press reports state that a U.S. company—unnamed—proposes to finance the Qum project).

Commons Comment

D. M. Fisher

► A RELAXATION came upon the House of Commons in mid-November largely because the members realized that the Liberals would get a new leader before an election, and partly because the major legislation, the personality of the government, and the opposition "lines" were becoming clear.

The Liberals have marked out three main targets. They will be much more militant after Pearson is chosen as leader; thus, these targets are certain to be shot at and guarded noisily in the election campaign to come—probably in April or early May. Why then? One target is unemployment and, ringing it, Liberal-inspired pictures of the '30s and a Conservative government's responsibility. Employment will pick up with the late spring construction boom.

Another target is the trade policy of the government: the fifteen per cent switch from the United States to Great Britain. The British counter-ploy of free trade has brought that phrase to sympathetic Liberal lips again. The third target is the Conservative role in Quebec or, as Lionel Chevrier put it early in the session "... the real leader of the French-speaking Conservative party in the province of Quebec ... was the premier of Quebec." It is clear that Chevrier is well ahead of ex-Speaker Beaudoin as French spokesman for his party.

Trade, unemployment, and national unity are familiar election issues and none is clean-cut. Thus we will have much

of charge, denial, counter-charge, and citing of the historical record.

Three major issues of the last campaign: the supremacy of Parliament, the Trans-Canada Pipeline, and Old Age Pensions; these will be minor to the cross-strife of the older parties. In contrast, all three are almost certain to be features of the CCF fight if one judges by the position taken by Messrs. Coldwell and Knowles. The delay to come from the work of the Royal Commission on Energy, the pension peg at \$55, and the paucity of information offered by the Tory ministry will square with the CCF's argument of "Tweedledum or Tweedle-dee".

The Social Credit line is unchanged and very objective (to true believers): the panacea of all ills is monetary reform. Naturally, Mr. Fleming rejects such unorthodoxy and with the apparent postponement by the Prime Minister of approval for Alberta gas export to the central United States, the supposed attraction of the Conservative and Social Credit to each other may have to have its realization, not at Ottawa, but in the two most westerly provinces.

The mood of the House is somewhat deeper than the mock heroics of partisan cross-fire and enfilade, below the mock humility of the new members, below the superficial camaraderie of the "club". It rests on the rub or glance of personality on personality as much as on policy or argument. The continuity of 22 years is rudely gone. The focus is on the government bench and the remnant of ex-ministers. In the first five weeks, John Diefenbaker has not dominated the House so much as opposition fears of his popularity in the country would seem to warrant. Too convoluted a speech, too artificial a rhetorical manner, keep the P.M. from any deep opposition respect. Indeed the opposition lobby is often derisive about his stagey appearances. But the merriment is uneasy. Has Diefenbaker caught the common Canadian? And that explains much of the early hesitancy about an election.

This fear of popular magnetism gives a partial explanation for the concentration of all opposition fire upon the Minister of Finance, the serious, unctuous Mr. Fleming. Though thinner-skinned than Mr. Howe, the last parliament's villain, Fleming has a similar pugnacity and faith in his mission. If he is not a success, he will be a colossal failure. Howard Green, the house leader, is all amiable sunshine without any irritating brilliance. This is a break for the government because, linked with the inoffensive competence of Fulton (Justice and Citizenship), Hees (Transport), and Harkness (Agriculture), it spreads the feeling that the ministry is not a fizzle, even if not a fountain of talent.

The new speaker, Mr. Michener, has ruled against the government on several occasions and allowed an untraditional length and breadth to the question period without any open complaints from the ministry. So, for the present, the recent delicacy of the Speaker's position seems to have toughened.

A tussle between the new and old minister of External Affairs has been eagerly awaited. It may be anti-climactic since each is such a hearty, genuine, good fellow. If stress fails to come here there will continue to be ruffling caused by such lusty breeders of disturbance as the Honourable Jack Pickersgill and James Gardiner, the CCF's firebrand, Harold Winch, and the rasping Rev. Hansell of Alberta. The essentially French-Canadian nature of the Liberal caucus is most apparent from the flaring nature of retort from the Quebec backbenchers who are being heard for the first time in many years. The Solicitor-General, Mr. Balcer, is the victim of most of such bickering.

In one sense, Stanley Knowles is a dominant figure in the House. The lean CCF expert on procedure and the debating record has as much of the floor as any other member and

perhaps more. The industry and cleverness of his tactics are blunted, however, by the way the counter-weighted older parties ignore the CCF (and the Social Crediters). Neither wishes to lose the other as chief rival.

Mr. Paul Martin has stood out as Liberal spokesman with his smooth, persistent, and long-winded performances. His diligence in attendance is matched only by that of Mr. St. Laurent, but the latter sits, hour after hour, unmoving, almost limp, a spent but highly respected figure. Despite Martin's stature and the apparent co-operation he receives from Liberal MPs, Lester Pearson excites the latter's enthusiasm. It is impossible to find a backbencher who does not predict Pearson's emergence as Liberal leader. On a set speech Pearson is magnificent, colleagues say he is even better around a table, but, so far, in the question and needling periods he has seemed inept.

The *aficionados* of the Press Gallery are unanimous in the view that this is a much improved parliament, in quality of debate and in the industry of the members. Perhaps this quality is only relative to the last Ottawa show but it is a theme elaborated at length by all the opposition parties. The Liberals, so far, use it to point out how unwarranted a snap election would be, the CCF and Social Credit use it to underline how beneficial minority government is in terms of legislation. Such negative arguments are of a holding nature. One would predict their fading in the new session which begins in January, in favor of direct, pre-election scrimmaging.

The projected timetable of business rules out any unheralded government measures before Christmas. Supply must be voted, old Liberal estimates must be scanned, private members' bills must have a place, a long debate on the country-wide farm price-support bill is certain. Ahead are the meetings and junkets such as the Federal-Provincial Conference, the trade mission to Britain, the top-level NATO conference. Thus the legislators should move along more quietly until a week before Christmas; then, the winter holiday and, one would wager, a Liberal opposition which will express its opposition in voting terms, a government defeat, and the hustings.

An addendum: the impact of Russian marvels has been hard but the reaction has been without form, more lofty and rhetorical than incisive. We await the American lead.

D. M. FISHER.

Crisis in France

Patricia van der Esch

► FOR THIRTY-SIX DAYS French political leaders wrestled with the almost insoluble problem of forming a government. M. Bourges-Maunoury was voted out at the end of September on the basis of the *loi-cadre*, or framework of laws, for Algeria, but the financial situation already outweighed in gravity the war in Algeria which was only a contributing factor to the drain on reserves at the Treasury.

The political instability of France, whose governments remain in power on an average for six and a half months, is not only a mystery to many outside observers, but also a positive handicap to her allies. Yet, given the composition of the French Assembly, statesmen in any country would have great difficulty in governing. The Communists with 143 seats, and the Poujadists with 31 seats, represent the extremes on left and right and are united in one thing only—opposing the government in power. Of the remaining 400-odd seats in the Assembly, the SFIO (Socialists) have 97, the right wing independents led by M. Pinay have 92, the MRP led by Schuman control 75 and the peasant party,

18. The result is coalitions which represent all shades of opinion from Socialist through progressive Catholic (MRP) to the many small right wing parties—radicals, republican socialists, radical dissidents, progressives, and so on to the number of 11. It is this divided half of the Assembly which must try to govern France in the face of Communist and Poujadist opposition.

Why is it that one out of five French voters consistently vote Communist at every election? In the south of France Communist support, extraordinary as it may seem, is largely based on tradition. For many Frenchmen, the Communists today are the direct descendants of the revolutionaries of 1789. In the Midi, too, there are pockets of once-persecuted French Protestants who have always voted for the extreme left. In the more highly industrialized north, Communist strength is based on a class-conscious proletariat. In fact, ministerial instability and Communist stability are not unconnected.*

When Guy Mollet failed to form a government at the end of October by 227 votes against 290, President Coty called upon the young radical socialist Félix Gaillard, who stipulated from the outset that he would only make the attempt if he were assured of the participation of the MRP, the SFIO and the "moderates"—a term applied to the independents together with the peasant parties. On this basis he would form a government of "republican union" and for the first time in this legislature, the composition of the government would correspond with the parliamentary majority. Even Mollet's government, which lasted for sixteen months, was a government of the minority.

The national council of the SFIO was called together at once to debate the question of participation in the Gaillard government. Mollet argued for unconditional participation in view of the urgent problems facing the country. The minority, which has always opposed Mollet's Algerian policy, was joined in its stand against participation by part of the majority who did not want to sit with the independents and the peasant party in a right of centre government. The fear of a *Front Populaire*, which would have been almost the only alternative if Gaillard failed to form a government, and for which the Communists were already pressing, coupled with the argument of national urgency, determined the Socialist vote. Nevertheless, Mollet only persuaded 55% of his party. The final motion for participation was passed by 2,087 against 1,732. It was not a convincing majority.

Félix Gaillard, who became prime minister of France on his thirty-eighth birthday by a vote of 337 to 173, studied law but became an inspector of finance in 1943 and then *chef de cabinet* to M. Jean Monnet after the Liberation. He was elected to the Assembly in 1946 and acted as under-secretary of state to the President of the Council in the Plevin, Faure and Mayer governments of 1951-53. In June, 1957, M. Bourges-Maunoury made him minister of finance, economic affairs and atomic development. The new French leader is in favor of European co-operation and has been a delegate to the Council of Europe at Strasbourg in 1949 and leader of the French delegation to the Brussels conference on the common market and Euratom. His youth appeals to the French people who feel that *les vieilles barbes* are no longer capable of finding new solutions to old problems.

The Socialists have retained the ministry of foreign affairs in the new government with M. Christian Pineau, and the ministries dealing with Algeria (Lacoste), the Sahara (Lejeune) and the overseas territories (Jacquet). They have

*Fauvet, Jacques, *La France Déchirée*, Fayard, Paris, 1957, p. 10.

lost, however, the ministry of labour to the MRP (Paul Bacon) whose members also hold the ministries of justice (Lecourt) and finance (Pfimlin). The radical socialists hold the ministries of the interior (Bourges-Maunoury) and education. Independents hold the ministries of agriculture, industry and commerce and reconstruction while the remaining 4 posts are divided among the other parties. French political commentators call it an honest government composed, with rare exceptions, of average men.

In the deplorable state in which France finds herself financially at the moment, it is appropriate that she should have a financial expert as her leader. Her foreign exchange reserves will be exhausted by the end of the year, the deficit in trade with other countries being 86% higher than it was last year. The budget deficit foreseen for 1958 reaches the enormous figure of 800 milliards of francs. The war in Algeria is the major contributing cause to this situation because it consumes 700 milliards every year. The investment program and extensive social security schemes are too great a burden on the Treasury while tax returns remain low.

Both the previous governments have had recourse to loans from the Bank of France and M. Gaillard intends to ask for 250 milliards again to meet the government's commitments until the end of the year. The total advanced by the Bank is thus raised to 550 milliards. The result is that prices have been rising and measures must be taken to combat inflation. The new government intends to maintain the existing levels of price indexes, increase taxation by 100 milliards and float a public loan, as well as asking for foreign loans. There will be a reduction of expenditure in a number of fields but the most optimistic figure for government economies is 100 milliards.

The 20% devaluation undertaken by Gaillard as finance minister on August 10 was a measure to combat inflation. It meant that foreign capital would flow into the country as the franc was cheaper while certain sectors of the economy, steel, oil and coal principally, would be able to buy abroad at the old rate of the franc. Immediately, speculation began in steel and French companies quadrupled their normal imports in order to profit by the rate of exchange. The government was forced to apply the new rate of exchange to all imports within a few weeks. So far, "Operation 20%" has not been successful in reducing the trade deficit which reached 441 milliards for the first nine months of the year. It is only in the long run, and if prices can be held at a reasonable level, that the country will benefit from this partial devaluation.

The policy of the new government on Algeria does not differ fundamentally from that of the previous government. It will take up the *loi-cadre*, with slight amendments, appeal once more for a cease-fire and make any contacts possible with qualified representatives of the rebels. These two problems, the financial situation and Algeria, will occupy the government until the end of the year and it is asking special powers for M. Gaillard to deal with both issues.

In January, if the recovery of the economy has gone according to plan, the government will take up the problem of constitutional reform in order to assure more ministerial stability, chiefly by giving the prime minister the power of dissolving the Assembly, and by depriving the Assembly of the right to vote laws entailing expenditure unless they vote taxes to cover the cost at the same time. However, it is essential that electoral reform be coupled with that of the constitution in order to procure more stable majorities. It should not be forgotten that, of the fourteen governments in power since the war, only five were overthrown consti-

tutionally; all the others, if they had so wished, could have refused to resign.

The maintenance of the present widely based majority is the major problem underlying all the others for the government at the moment. M. Gaillard has taken one new step to solve it, in the form of a permanent caucus representing the dozen or more leaders of all the parties which support him. The latter will thus be assured of a triple representation—in the government, in the caucus and in the committees. The object of this caucus, in Gaillard's words, is "to create in the Assembly a consciousness of the majority" by discussing and solving the differences that may arise and then imposing party discipline so that a united front is presented against the Communists and Poujadists when it comes to a vote in the Assembly. The length of the political crisis in October, of which every Frenchman was thoroughly ashamed, has at last persuaded political leaders to leave the realm of theory and take action to preserve the government's majority.

Mr. Jensen

Alice Eedy

► HE WAS STRAIGHT out of Marlow's *Faustus*, with that *visage*, grizzled hair, the one horrifying eye (a red sunken flaring rim), the other mottled grey, wide-open, unsmiling; first crouching spread-eagled on the wooden bench in the dark side hall, a strong, gaunt figure in grey wrinkled suit, with the head lifted snake-high; then stalking up and down in the crowded waiting-room with panther-like stance, lurching, knocking up against the wall, groaning out in the husky rasping voice,—"Oh God! Oh God!" as if he were alone in a storm or on the stage, not watched by the silent, massed, dun-colored sea of faces ringing the varnished, pew-like seats of the hospital clinic. And you would see what was beyond him, that he was an emissary from those dark lower strata (the nature of those streets, buildings of dark wood, reeking interiors, pictured in the mind).

It was that winter when you could imagine snow falling through the air, darkness appearing to fall below the ceiling, the air seeming dark, to acquire a quality of darkness as if actual snowflakes would begin to fall. Outside the shape of mountains everywhere rising above buildings, water, the lustre of blueness lavish above the hotels, lending a greatness. But juxtaposed with this, very close to the hotels, dark figures of men walking, already even on the first street beyond the hotels, a trickling, wavering in movement as in a mirror, the shape of defeat, and so short a distance beyond, a whole surge of men, silent, dark, crowding forms aimless in misery, searching for a meal or a bed.

They came walking up, steadily upward from far below, beyond the bridge, from the world of streets seen in the mind, distinct and separate from the rest of the city, near the water, beside the blue flush of mountains, the world of yellowish hotels of doubtful repute, narrow, ribbed, frame hulks with darkened, gaping doorways, stairways of varnished wood, visible from the street, the Scott Rooms, the Sunlight Rooms (At five o'clock after a rain, a spreading sulphurous light of dusty effulgence is reflected in the dimming, slotted window glass of the raw, wooden buildings. A room in a top storey is seen, the greyish curtain hanging crookedly from a string, beyond, the iron bars of a bed.)

How the doctors in white coats, in their little side offices, work over the ulcerated legs, strained shoulders, of long-shoremen or loggers, treat foot conditions acquired from

(Continued on page 205)

Poems

Elizabeth Brewster

Two Dreams

I

The princess wore her hair long. Yellow as butter,
It fell to her waist, as straight as any mermaid's.
Her dress was blue, to tranquillize the Monster.
For years he had eaten a virgin every year,
Perhaps a raft of virgins; but now, grown old,
He might be growing milder. He lay in bed,
His grizzled bear's head propped against the pillows,
And smiled at her benignly. In her hand
She held a cup, filled with the magic gruel.
He drank it up, except for one last drop,
Then asked for water to wash that drop down.
That was a trick, she knew. She must refuse him,
Or else her death would follow. She refused.

The gruel, she said, must always be made fresh.
Water would ruin it. He nodded gravely.
And could she make some fresh? Oh, yes, she could,
But it would take a while. She must wander far;
The ingredients were hard, at times, to come by.
You could find moss in the woods, and crimson berries
Picked by the edge of a spring. You needed those.
Oh, but it was a secret recipe.

And could she go to pick them? The window was open
And she looked out and saw the lilac in bloom,
And the white clouds dreamily blown across the sky,
And one free bird wheeling and circling above.
Perhaps, he said, his eyes pursuing hers,
Perhaps I'll let you go, and I'll go too.

II

When we moved into the Fortress it was night.
The landlady said we really ought to wait.
There was no furniture; the place was in need of repair;
All the buildings were falling down except that one,
And it was old, but it would keep the rain out.
It would be a shelter, if we had nowhere to stay,
And we were welcome to it. So we moved in.

Afterwards it seemed better than we had thought.
The wood of the long hall was heavy and solid,
Dark with the passage of years, carved in strange shapes.
There were no lights, but at the end of the room
The fireplace welcomed us. We knelt beside it,
Warming our fingers. So we settled down.

When morning came we discovered it was June.
Flinging the window open I stood and gazed
And called, "Come here, come here, look at the garden."
We looked down into the courtyard, green and blossoming,
And saw the country cottages about us
Ranged in a tidy square. Around the fountain
Children were dancing. There was never such fragrance and
freshness.

They came out then from the neighbouring houses to greet us.
The women wore bandannas and colored skirts. The children
Were dressed in blue and had their hair in curls.
There were floats and banners and a long procession.
In the centre of the courtyard a girl was dancing.
The children clapped their hands. The procession stood still,
And from their hands and the hands of women on doorsteps

Petals floated. The trees shook down their petals.
And as we stood and watched her from our window
Her small white feet seemed petals dancing.

On a Painting of Snow in the National Gallery

Outside it's the season of tulips and budding trees;
Children play with marbles or run with arms wild-flying;
The lovers on park benches hold shy hands
Under the pale and gentle hands of their elders.
Grass is greener than ever before, and sky is bluer,
And the air quivers with the sudden onrush of sun.

But here there is framed a solitude of snow
That no spring thaw will ever melt away;
Snow piled on snow, massed on each rounded twig,
Covering the earth with soft and final silence.
No footstep will ever mar those creamy mounds,
No lovers ever walk beneath those boughs
Or eager schoolboy come to carve his name;
No picnic party, scattering bottles and sandwiches,
Will break this hush; no driving rain will come
To turn the snow to clicking icicles
Or waken the green buds; summer will never
Weigh down the boughs with weary greenery,
Or tranquil autumn ripen the rich sky.

This air-conditioned world, even in July,
Will beckon us to cool immensities:
Beckon, but hold us back. There is no passport
To let us past those painted boundaries.

Poem to the Blessed Virgin

Lady, I come to light
A candle in your sight.
So frail this flame, like faith,
That wavers at a breath,
Yet scoops from darkest space
A place of light and peace.

Oh, frail this candle's flame,
Frail every human name,
And frail and delicate
This flesh that worms will eat;

Yet from your flesh was made
God, when he came to aid
With his divine nature
His lost and fallen creature.

You shielded in your arms
Heaven himself from harm,
And soothed his baby cries
With tender lullabies,

Children, to you we run.
Pray to your little son
Whom you so softly hold
To save us from the cold
Of our own bitterness
By means of his dear grace,
Who made the heaven and earth
But chose a human birth.

Honouring you, he chose
To honour us (his foes,
As we had else become
Who madly loved our doom)

And gave to flesh and blood
A glory not allowed
To spirits, though they flame
With an angelic name.

Your womb, the marriage bed
Where earth and heaven were wed,
Brings forth perpetually
Our life, even when we die.

Lady, my candle's light
Will die in the deep night:
Protect my soul's frail spark,
Wavering in the dark;
And all these others too,
Light with serener glow.
Pray for us, Lady, who
Have lit our lights for you.

The Toronto General

The cold rush from an opened refrigerator
Tokened the unexpected.
Two still red shoes by one white chair
Where one neglected
Meets Pain's stare.

Who would have suspected
That from a summer's wreck slid
This animal? Did
After our hazy happy holiday, some predator
Stalk her up the Americas
With jealous claw—undetected?

The corner turned, there we are
Where always icy skies
Stone this world with their sequential stars,
Whose projectiles fly
Throughout these unforeseen wars
In our own forms, for whom the dearest die.

Kenneth McRobbie.

The Return of the Sails

(Suggested by a poem of Blanche Lamontagne's)

O Gaspé sky, your wings and sails
Lift and fall like drifting foam;
They break upon my naked eye
As waves explode into the sun.

Beneath your wide, transparent gaze
The sea flares out, and smokes with dreams
Of embarcations wild with flags
And flights down endless roads of wind.

Oh, by these shores my youthful dreams
In fleets of sail passed outward bound;
They said adieu to the parish spires
And sailed toward some mirage of land.

Now youth is done, my dreams return,
Their cordage tangled with the cries of gulls,
Their sails reporting to the raucous winds
Their aspirations white as clouds;
And in the laughter of the breaking waves
My dreams, confounded, break and drown.

D. G. Jones

MR. JENSEN

(Continued from page 203)

daily walking the streets. Men who have developed serious chest conditions, from sleeping out night after night, are to be bronchoscoped, and will then become eligible for aid from the city. Treatments are "initiated," surgery is "indicated."

The nurse in charge approaches with quick, purposeful tread, from the far end of the clinic, moving parallel to the long rows of benches. Holding with one arm, the half-opened folder of a medical chart, she stops, overseeing the silent, anonymous wash of faces. Glancing out over the rims of her glasses, frowning slightly, with the severe, comical, motherly expression, she calls out a name in a clear, ringing voice, pins down the figure of a man, perhaps Chinese, who rises to his feet, slowly comes forward. He stands leaning on a crutch; his head is black, large, with an intimation of greyness, his face dark, apart, with sideburns, the faint weathered look of leather or cloth. She speaks, "Sir . . ." again looks down at the chart, firmly draws him to one side privately as on a stage. At the same time that she is speaking, a man wearing a wind-breaker, wool cap with look of earflaps about it, approaches from behind, holding a white envelope. A third, an old man with marked, rusty-black eyebrows, silvering hair, comes to her elbow. He is dressed with clerical neatness (the details of the collar at his neck, with its single, flat, pearl button on the clean, fine-striped, yellowing, old-fashioned shirt, indigo-navy patterned suit, rather worn, the old-fashioned quality about him, like somebody's father). There is a bandage across his forehead. He fell, striking his head, "blood ran down." He is to go into a boarding-home. The nurse glances out over her glasses, with warmth, shrewdness, something of the housekeeper, the home-maker; advises, deals aid, moves again with the same remorseless speed, along the long aisle between the benches and the high wood counter, works her way, a white, authoritative, diminishing form, through the dark, crowded, impeding figures, standing or waiting by the square, loft-like courtyard entrance, to the other end, the far hall, where another group has haphazardly clustered, can there be seen bending over some man, half-reclining in black overcoat, on a side-bench.

And in individuals separate visions flower secretly in gloom the color of despair, out of which in what excruciating daily detail, a sense of peace dimly attained, snatched glimpses of imagined joy. Words are spoken, formed in the mind: "I was lonely," "I don't know what to do," or "Everything is sliding away." The feeling of fear is like fingers white with cold under the tap, with the refusing of a job, a meal-ticket; fingers pinched. How often must the darkness be overcome.

At what hour of that night would he have been picked up by the police, hauled away like a sack of grain from a doorway (you see wooden rows of steps in darkness, the bare pavement, a walling up of buildings, several storeys high), brought to the Emergency at dawn, later discharged, to reappear as if summoned out of some murk, with ghostly, dragging chains.

Sit down, Mr. Jensen.

I will not sit down.

Please wait, Mr. Jensen.

I will not wait.

He spends the afternoon, loping restless about the waiting-room, appears inconveniently at doorways, fingers grasping the wood edge of the door-frame, shaking in alcoholic tremor, then doubling in a fist, his voice rasping, harsh, rises with labored breathing, "You get me out of here," the skin of his face flushed wrathfully, his one eye wild, dazed.

Telephoned inquiries are made on his behalf, efforts to obtain sleeping accommodation for that night (the prospect

of a bed in a row, Dormitory 2, Bed 24), an organization to supply the next day's meal-tickets.

But at the last, at the end, when it has all been fixed up, he holds the slip of paper on which the details are written, with shaking fingers. It falls to the floor, he tries to pick it up fumblingly, it is handed to him again to hold. And then the other side, the terrible recognition, there is a look in his face quite other. It is like autumn sunlight on a ruined wall, glittering, warm, living. He speaks in the rasping, bronchitic voice, "I was like a madman." Tears spring suddenly from some inner overturning of agony, as if turning away from a searing knowledge, the confronting of some inner intolerable world. He speaks again, rasping. "I had to take it out on someone." There is a transience, a glistening.

And it is as if you might see cool hands touching his hair, smoothing it sideways, a palm stroking across the forehead, then framing his face as if rediscovering it, now gazing out with its sad searching look, something even childlike and wistful, there is a gradual softening, a liquefaction; and hear a voice murmuring to him softly, "Oh your poor eye, your poor eye . . ."

Turning New Leaves

► THE PROCESS of publishing selected editions of the poetry of the best-known Canadian poets of the past must now be nearing completion. The books of Bliss Carman, Charles Roberts, Archibald Lampman, and Duncan Campbell Scott have all been winnowed during the past decade, their chaff discarded and their grain preserved in a more or less permanent form. It is doubtful whether there are any other poets worthy of such treatment, although Charles Sangster, William Wilfred Campbell, Frederick George Scott, Isabelle Valency Crawford, and Tom MacInnes might be considered. At any rate the effort involved so far has been well worthwhile, as it has kept alive poetry which was in danger of being forgotten in its original format, and has provided the occasion for a revaluation of each poet's contribution.

The latest volume in the series is this selection of the poems of Marjorie Pickthall*, made by Dr. Lorne Pierce, editor of the Ryerson Press. Dr. Pierce is well qualified for such a task, since he has long been an admirer of Marjorie Pickthall and produced a book-length study of her life and work in 1925.

Dr. Pierce's introduction indicates that even he is now much less sure of the lasting value of Miss Pickthall's poetry than he was then. In the earlier essay he praised her unreservedly for her color, cadence, contour, and craftsmanship, and said:

She possessed a genius for taking pains. Never rugged, and incapable of standing long and concentrated study, she nevertheless acquired the finest fruits of culture — a sound appreciation of the best, and a vital experience of the true, the beautiful and the good. But to this she added a high-souled purposiveness, which was never satisfied with anything less than perfection. Her work, therefore, reveals that quality frequently lacking in the work of others with more native brilliance, namely, a high ethical purpose which saw things clearly and saw them whole, and held straight on to the high object of her adoration . . . Whatever may have been lacking in profound scholarship was atoned for in reverence to her ideals of beauty and in her lofty, restless passion for perfection.

*THE SELECTED POEMS OF MARJORIE PICKTHALL: edited and with an introduction by Lorne Pierce; McClelland and Stewart; pp. 104; \$3.00.

It is symptomatic of the general drift away from a purely emotional to a more rationally disciplined view of poetry that Dr. Pierce begins the introduction to his new book by summing up the strength and weakness of Marjorie Pickthall as follows: "On the one hand, there are grace and charm, restrained Christian mysticism, and unflinching cadence; on the other, preoccupation with the unearthly, with death and regret, with loneliness and grief, where the tendency is toward emotional interpretations of life, and rapture and intuition are substituted for the discipline of reason". He admits that after the *Drift of Pinions*, her first book, published in 1913, Miss Pickthall only repeated herself, and that her work marked the end of the old romantic tradition of Canadian poetry rather than a new departure. He deplores her failure to face her own age, and her tendency to take refuge in the past. In other words, the present introduction is for the most part a just and clear-sighted estimate of Miss Pickthall's verse. It is Lorne Pierce at his best — allusive, suggestive, mercurial. The criticism may be impressionistic rather than systematically scholarly, but the impressions are those of a very sensitive, sensible, and widely-read human being. Only occasionally, as when he speaks of the poems as "private acts of devotion — reticent, wistful, and personal, a kind of oblation jewelled with symbolism, bright with imagery, and always softly cadenced as if joining in the age-old litany of the Mass," does Dr. Pierce fall into the rhapsodic tone which is the chief fault of his criticism.

The brief introduction, then, is excellent. What of the selected poems themselves? If one approached the book seeking a new revelation of Miss Pickthall's genius one would be disappointed. The best poems in it are those which have been kept in print in the anthologies and which every Canadian reads in his schooldays—poems such as "Pere Lalemant", "Duna", "The Bridegroom of Cana", "The Little Sister of the Prophet", and "A Mother in Egypt". These undeniably do have charm, a kind of adolescent wistfulness which, I rather shamefacedly confess, still has the capacity to bring tears to my eyes and a choking sensation to my throat — until I sternly remind myself that I should be past that sort of thing. It is only when one subjects these poems to a deliberately sceptical analysis that their charm evaporates. One realizes, first of all, that they are designed to trigger stock responses, that what makes "The Bridegroom of Cana", for example, so superficially moving, is not so much the language of the poem itself as the fact that the appeal of Christ has centuries of ritual and tradition and preaching to back it up. Undertake the admittedly difficult task of disentangling the actual technique of the poem from the heavily loaded subject-matter, and immediately weaknesses become apparent. There is redundancy, pathetic fallacy ("Slenderly hang the olive leaves/Sighing apart"), and a general over-ripeness of expression ("rose-and-silver doves", "Honey and wine in thy words are stored," "the golden lure of thy love"). And yet the verdict of a detailed analysis is not wholly negative: "The shaft of the dawn strikes clear and sharp" is a good metaphor, and lines such as

And the lifting, shimmering flight of the swallow
Breaks in a curve on the brink of morn

are at once musical, emotive, and accurate.

Perhaps the clearest proof of the essential hollowness of Marjorie Pickthall's poetry is that the more it is read and pondered the less impressive and the more cloying it seems. Her faults, which on a quick first reading are apt to be obscured by her talent for weaving a pleasant pattern of sounds around a traditionally emotive subject, become more and more apparent as the book is re-read.

The first of these faults, though not the most serious, is her heavily imitative tendency. Chameleon-like, she seems

to have taken on the characteristics of any literary movement with which she came in close contact. She learned most from the Pre-Raphaelites, and leaned very heavily upon Dante Gabriel Rossetti's sensuousness, colorfulness, and rather hectic emotional intensity, and upon his sister Christina's mysticism and preoccupation with loneliness and death. She also owed a good deal to the Celtic Revival, and especially to the early Yeats — so that her work is full of twilight, tears, sleep, sighs, mists and all the other late Romantic paraphernalia. Such a stanza as this, for example, might have come straight out of *The Wanderings of Oisín*:
When the rooks fly homeward and the gulls are following high,

And the grey feet of the silence with a silver dream are shod,
I mind me of the little wings abroad in every sky
Who seek their sleep of God.

Imitiveness, however, is not always fatal to good poetry. The monotony of Marjorie Pickthall is a more serious matter. Bliss Carman too has been charged with monotony, but he did develop through several phases and he did have

at least two distinct tones — one wistful, tender and sad, the other buoyant, vigorous, and optimistic. Marjorie Pickthall uses the same words, the same images, and the same rhythms in poem after poem to cast the same spell. Words such as silver, gold, dream, little, shadows, hushed and sweet echo and re-echo; the images are drawn almost exclusively from jewellery and metalcraft ("Rain has jewelled all my fingers," "The moon's my golden ring," "Every pool a sapphire is," "And cleft with emerald spears of sedge", "The sunlight falls in amber bars", "The slow sun sinks to the sand like a shield", "St. Ignace and St. Louis, little beads on the rosary of God"); and the rhythms are slow, hesitant, and undulant, like a chant or litany heard from a great distance.

Together with this monotony of style there goes, rather paradoxically, an apparent variety of subject-matter. Her poetry has no local centre — it shifts from primitive Canada to medieval Britain, from modern Wiltshire to ancient Brittany, from the Virgin Islands to Turkey, from Palestine to Egypt. Although she manages, by dint of her wide read-

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ing, to give a kind of factitious authenticity to these places, they all tend to blur into one romantic landscape.

Now we are approaching, I think, the essential weakness of Miss Pickthall's poetry. It is a poetry of escape, dealing with the remote in time and place. She seems to have shared Yeats' early conviction that "only beautiful things should be painted, and that only ancient things and the stuff of dreams were beautiful". In poem after poem Miss Pickthall makes clear her preference for the dream rather than the reality, for dawn and twilight rather than the clear light of day, for sleep and death rather than wakefulness and life. "The Princess in the Tower", in which she expresses a preference for the solitariness of the tower to the realities of human intercourse, is a key poem in this connection: Miss Pickthall was afraid of life, and though we can have compassion for her as a person we must coldly state that this fear was fatal to her as a poet.

The poet, surely, must be fully alive in his own age; but there is almost nothing in Marjorie Pickthall's poetry to indicate when or where she lived. It is not, of course, that a poet must always or even usually write directly about his own time and place — such an absurd attitude would rule out Milton's *Paradise Lost* and most of Shakespeare. But Milton and Shakespeare, whatever their nominal subjects might be, always had one eye on the readers of their own time. Milton was justifying God's ways to man, and that meant that through the Biblical narrative he was addressing his contemporaries. Miss Pickthall seems to have had no awareness of her contemporaries whatsoever, so that Dr. Pierce can say with some truth that her poems seem like *private* acts of devotion. But true poetry is not a private act but a public act, an act of communication. The poet is, as Wordsworth said, a man speaking to men. Because she did not really speak to her own generation, Miss Pickthall cannot speak to ours. Already her faint litanies are barely overheard from her private chapel.

It has often been pointed out in reference to English literature that a literary movement which begins as a protest against the artificiality of the dominant school in its turn becomes artificial and must be replaced. The same process has operated in Canadian literature. The romantic tradition which Charles Roberts inaugurated in our poetry was a protest against the artificiality of poets such as Sangster and Mair — Roberts was actually looking at the landscape of the Maritime provinces, and this was his strength. But by the time Marjorie Pickthall came on the scene that tradition had forgotten its realistic origin, and her work was even more artificial in its way than had been that of Sangster and Mair. It was Pratt and the Montreal Group, in their different ways, who made the necessary protest and brought poetry back to earth. Sometimes I wonder whether, in the very clever and mythologically sophisticated young poets of today, we are not witnessing another retreat into artificiality. For poetry, wherever it ends, must always begin in the close observation of the here and now. And this, I believe, is the lesson that Miss Pickthall has to teach us.

DESMOND PACEY.

Correspondence

The Editor: The November *Forum* has reached me. and I am rather distressed by the very unsatisfactory treatment of the Algerian situation. It does not mention anything about the Algerians' rather just complaints of the suppression of their way of life, while proposing the same type of gerrymander as left Syria and Indo-China in chaos when the French were finally through there. I've just returned from North Africa, and am shocked at this weak analysis of such

an important dilemma. Who does Mr. Laponce speak for? Surely not independent opinion. I have always read the *Forum* for its independence, but don't think it has treated the Arabs well, now in Algeria, and previously in Palestine. Thank you anyhow for listening.

Tom Irving.
University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.

The Editor: Mr. James Eayrs' contribution in the November issue of *The Canadian Forum*, under the heading "Three Critics of the Queen", contains this sentence: "It belongs to that imperishable period of his [Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge's] editorship of *Punch* when names fell from the subscription list like leaves in an autumn gale . . ."

No burning desire either to refute or confirm what Mr. Eayrs wrote is my wish, but by pure chance, in a recent number of the *Spectator* (London) I came across a review by Bernard Levin, under the heading "Punch Drunk", of *A History of Punch* by Mr. R. G. G. Price, wherein were found these words, referring to *Punch*: "... yet it has survived, and not merely survived but actually, in recent years, increased its circulation."

Mr. Muggeridge has been the editor in "recent years", so juxtapose the two quotations above and what have we? Was Mr. Muggeridge a heel or a hero as regards the fortunes of *Punch*?

Stewart Cowan

The Editor: I wish to apologize for two erroneous dates which found their way into my article about Syria in your last issue. The Alexandretta district (Hatay) was ceded by France to Turkey in 1939. The "Franklin-Bouillon" agreement, by which France recognized the Republican Turkish régime and ceded to Turkey the Coban Bey-Nusaybin stretch of the Baghdad railway was signed in 1920. The three Syrian coups d'état which followed Syria's defeat by Israel in 1948 all took place in 1949 (in March, August and December), and Antun Sa'adeh was executed by the Lebanese in 1949.

A propos of the Russian threats against Turkey, I might add that although the Armenian inhabitants of the Alexandretta district all fled to the Lebanon and Syria (I saw them in Beirut at the time), the Turks have not ill-treated or expelled the other inhabitants and the loss of the district cannot be compared (from the Arab point of view) with that of Palestine. One used to hear stories that the Turks coveted Aleppo because the Coban Bey-Nusaybin line was only linked with the rest of the Turkish railway system by a Syrian line passing through Aleppo; but in 1955 the Turks completed a new link line entirely on Turkish soil through Gazi Aintep. It seems likely that the purpose of the Russian threats is to break the Baghdad Pact (and the Eisenhower doctrine) by creating fear in Iraq for the safety of her Arab neighbor Syria, and to show to the world that Russia will use force if necessary to prevent the overthrow of the present none too popular Syrian military régime by pro-Western or genuinely neutralist Syrian elements.

F. R. C. Bagley, Montreal, Quebec.

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Books Reviewed

Public Affairs

RADIATION: WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT AFFECTS YOU: Jack Schubert and Ralph E. Lapp; The Viking Press; pp. 314; \$4.50.

Reading this book just after a certain amount of public outcry against the dangers of radiation from atomic bomb debris one would expect a "cry havoc" against further nuclear weapon tests. It was an agreeable surprise to find the attitude of the authors so completely sensible and objectively scientific in their explanation of "Radiation: What it is and how it affects you." A warning against the misuse of X-rays and radium is very strongly put by these authors. On the other hand they are careful never to suggest the prohibition of any radiation that is certain to be beneficial but only that its use should be properly controlled. The attitude is that it will be necessary for us to live with an increased danger due to radiation of a type that can be deadly injurious when improperly controlled; therefore, we must learn all that can be learned about it and keep its application along beneficial lines.

The book has thirteen chapters which subdivide it along lines that the title would suggest. The history of the discovery of radiation known as X-rays and the radiation from natural and artificial radioactive elements is adequately presented. The definitions of units and of scientific terms appear naturally as they arise in the context. To a physicist familiar with them they seem to be adequately explained and should be sufficient for the non-scientific reader to whom the book is really addressed. The authors were probably wise to stick to the unit "Roentgen" which is the most familiar unit of radiation flux and is based on the energy absorbed. They are careful to explain, however, that biological effects depend a great deal on the type of tissue being considered and how much radiation is received at one time.

It is made perfectly clear that the problem of estimating radiation damage is extremely complicated and is one on which much more research is needed. Quantitatively speaking, apart from intense local doses of radiation which cause burns, the damage is usually insidious. Nothing is felt at the time but there is a latent period of the order of twenty-five years when tumors or other malignant troubles may arise. The authors have taken some trouble in presenting evidence for this. Even more insidious results of radiation damage occur in the effect of mutations which may not show up for many generations. The knowledge of the effects of radiation in causing mutations is very limited and the need for more extensive research is emphasized. The authors have shown courage in quoting estimates of the amount of radiation delivered to a populace such as the United States which would in a few generations double the number of individuals who might be handicapped because of mutations. The figures are quite impressive and though the dose due to radioactive fallout is still trivial the number of people receiving excessive doses due to other uses of radiation may well be significant.

In discussing the effects due to radiation-induced mutations the danger of future generations is largely in the reproductive cells and the authors naturally place a great deal of emphasis on keeping radiation doses on the gonads to an absolute minimum. Where emergencies arise due to war or accident which make it necessary for men to enter radiation fields above the accepted tolerance value but still far from lethal, older men past the reproduction stage should be chosen. In these modern days where the emphasis is on youth in almost all fields of endeavor it is interesting to find one case where the older man is more acceptable.

The problem of radioactive poisoning is the subject of one chapter. It would be interesting if some more expressive word than poisoning could be found for the ingestion of radioactive matter. Technically, the word is probably correct but the effect of radioactive matter absorbed in the body is quite different from the physiochemical effects of common poisons. Artificial isotopes which are radioactive and, therefore, emit destructive radiation are absorbed in the body and, if they are the right elements, become part of the bone structure or more or less permanent tissue structure of the body. Radioiodine is one that is used for diagnostic purposes and strontium 90 is one that would be a serious danger in case of an excessive number of atomic explosions.

A chapter is devoted to the irradiation of children. The danger of exposure of children to radiation is particularly great. This is partly because the youthful tissue is more sensitive to radiation, partly because the life expectancy is much greater than the latent period of twenty-five years or so for radiation induced tumors. Further in girls the reproductive cells are already formed at birth and, therefore, the danger of mutations is at its greatest because the accumulation of radiation doses enhances the chances of passing on hereditary defects.

The use of radiation to treat non-malignant diseases such as warts, skin conditions, infections and many others is deplored. There is considerable discussion of the maximum tolerance dose of radiation and of the tolerances normally allowed in industrial work particularly atomic energy establishments. One of the safest places to work is in an atomic energy establishment if the rules are rigidly enforced.

The maximum allowable dose is really based to some extent on ignorance of the effects that can be expected from long exposure to weak doses. Human beings have lived in a weak radiation flux from the beginning. There is radioactive matter in the earth and radioactive gases are continually escaping into the air and getting into our food. We are also being bombarded constantly by ionizing cosmic rays. The overall dose due to such natural effects is very small relative to the average dose that people get in civilized societies by the medical use of X-rays. The book goes into these things in a quantitative way.

The authors quote many medical reports which are based on actual records and their analyses. A comprehensive list of reference documents is included and is grouped under the sub-headings of each chapter. There is also a glossary of technical terms at the end of the book which should be very useful to the lay reader.

Fallout contamination from nuclear weapons is discussed in as much detail as is necessary but this by no means represents a major portion of the book. The extent and danger of fallout close to atomic explosions is described and the small but appreciable accumulation of radioactive dust which remains in the upper atmosphere for years is not neglected.

Many unexpected problems which arose from nuclear explosions are described such as the selective absorption of particular radioactive isotopes by biological material which may be used for food.

The thirteenth chapter "Future Safeguards" emphasizes the conclusion that there is in reality no safety tolerance dose. All radiation is harmful but nuclear energy is something that has come to stay and with it have come difficult problems which might have been expected with an advance in scientific knowledge of this magnitude. Since it has come we must learn all we can about it. Research in the fields where knowledge is weakest should be pursued even more ardently. It is essential that the public be enlightened to the greatest possible extent. The need for security on information on the biological effects of radiation is past and an

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enlightened public can be of considerable help in insisting that precise records of all known exposures to radiation be kept. This is important because of the impossibility of experimenting on human beings and the difficulties in relating experiments on animals to human beings.

It might be pointed out that one gets no impression from reading the book of the relative importance of the detrimental effects of radiation in relation to average amounts of disabling sickness from other causes. Questions might be asked such as the following: If radiation dosages were increased to an extent that the incidence of cancer or other effects due to radiation were doubled, would it have a serious effect on the total incidence of that type of sickness? It is doubtful if such a question can be answered. The fact that this book makes no attempt to do so can hardly be suggested as a criticism since total national health is not part of the authors' thesis.

The book should certainly be read by everyone interested in civil defence. It is well printed and in reading it objectively no obvious mistakes or misprints were noted.

D. C. Rose.

HISTORY IN A CHANGING WORLD: Geoffrey Barraclough; Burns & MacEachern; pp. viii, 246; \$5.00.

This coherent collection of essays and addresses of Professor Barraclough has already been recognized as a major contribution to the understanding by historian and layman of the nature of historical writing and the role of the historian.

The author disclaims any intention of propounding a new historiographical formula and presents his essays as "tentative gropings" towards a reinterpretation of history which he believes to be particularly necessary at this moment. He does however, advance six explicit historiographical contentions: (1) The interpretations of European history hitherto presented by historians are inadequate for the purposes of someone living in the twentieth century; (2) As the test of "adequacy" implies, historical writing must have an avowed relevance to the cultural context of the historian; (3) "World history" or "Culture history" is the form of historical writing which lends itself most intelligibly to meaningful interpretation; (4) The main criticism to be made of Toynbee, aside from error in detail, is *not* that he undertook his monumental comparison of civilizations, but that he could not base his work upon the essential prior and separate understanding of the individual civilizations; (5) The development of all civilizations manifestly is "cyclic" as the Greeks were well aware and "we can see, if we have eyes to see, . . . the dim shape of the coming civilization which will supersede our own, just as a Roman with eyes to see might have perceived the shape of things to come when, in 113 B.C., Teutons and Cimbrians moved forward on a broad front and came 'over the Alps in a huge migration';" (6) The most fruitful subjects for historical re-analysis are the crises, however remote, and not the plains, however close. Barraclough offers the imperishable thought that Constantine might be more "contemporary" than Stanley Baldwin.

History, it is suggested, and this could hardly be disputed, is losing or has lost "the hold it once exercised over the best minds as a key to present living," and for this lamentable development the cult of historicism is largely responsible. The author asks, "Who has the right to blame [the ordinary man] if finding as a result of an overdose of history that he has no standards left, except to judge everything in the light of circumstances, he either uses history as a comfortable pretext for cynicism, or (more likely) rejects it in disgust?" Barraclough discovered that "inherited assumptions" no longer fitted reality with the Russian victory at Stalingrad which "made a total revision of European history imper-

ative." The "inadequacy of old formulations" is explained largely by the limitations in geography and time of the historical material from which those formulations were evolved.

The defence of "relevance", with its obvious pitfalls, is to be found largely in the impossibility of contextual detachment and the inevitability of the activities of amateurs and propagandists if historians fail to deduce lessons from their studies. (Barraclough says, for example, that the "middle ages" depicted by Maritain and Berdyaev "bear little relation to the picture of Mediaeval society revealed by historical research.") But there is another defence: "We seek, in the end, to know 'what really happened' in order to assess its bearing and meaning for us. For it is simply not true that the past (as is so often stated) 'exists for itself'. The past may once have existed for itself; but to-day it no longer exists at all — it is as 'dead as the men who made it'."

In addition to objecting to historicism because of its "pulverized" morality and implicit theory of progress Barraclough explicitly attacks all teleological views of history, but largely on the marginal grounds that designs introduced into history might be extracted as lessons.

So history can be relevant and purposeful if undesigned, and European (or Western) history must be re-written because it didn't go far enough east, and far enough back, and contained too much of the Spanish Succession and not enough of the Fall of Constantinople. But how do you extract the lesson? At one extreme there is Professor H. A. L. Fisher: "One intellectual excitement has . . . been denied me. Men wiser and more learned than I have discovered in history a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me. I can see only one emergency following upon another, as wave follows upon wave, only one great fact with respect to which, since it is unique, there can be no generalizations . . ." At the other extreme, historians in the wake of Darwin applied to civilized man the same genetic impulses the scientists applied to primitive man, and some even called themselves social scientists. Between these views is the "cyclic" theory. "We can see that we are nearing the end of a phase parallel to that in Classical civilization which ran from Alexander to Caesar." "What I am suggesting is that we to-day stand on the verge, like the Romans of 100 B.C., of the imperial phase"; ". . . perhaps even we may compare the Third Punic War and the Carthaginian Peace that followed with the struggle from which we have just emerged."

The major optimistic lesson — that a new civilization will emerge, may not be considered too optimistic by the "ordinary man" making mortgage payments in this civilization. As for the historians, most of them no doubt will applaud the expanding conception of what constitutes European history, and will continue to welcome any attempt at generalized interpretation which is not designed to advance a contemporary cause. But the vigorous espousal of the "cyclic" theory, or any other "design of civilization", revealed or observed, may well have the effect of impelling them to cling more tenaciously to the parish pump.

H. S. Crowe.

AMERICAN NATIONALISM: AN INTERPRETATIVE ESSAY: Hans Kohn; Brett-Macmillan; pp. 272; \$5.00.

Hans Kohn, already well known for his studies of nationalism, particularly in its European phases, has now turned his attention to the United States. Drawing on a wide variety of materials, from which he has quoted with great effectiveness, he has written an "interpretative essay," moderate in tone, yet full of stimulating insights. One feels that it is both the work of an objective scholar and the tribute of a grateful citizen to his adopted country. If it is the latter, it is but

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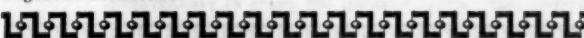
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another example of the absorptive power and the deep appeal which American nationalism and nationality continue to have.

Disclaiming any attempt to write a history of American nationalism, Professor Kohn has discussed five factors which have entered into its formation: the tradition of rational liberty derived from Britain and to a lesser degree from western Europe, the bittersweet relationship with the former mother-country during the period of self-conscious cultural nationalism, the problem of reconciling national union with local variations through the device of federalism, the strains and the transformations involved in receiving tens of millions of immigrants, and lastly, the new challenges posed by world power in the twentieth century.

The author believes that the United States has been the outpost, and a worthy one, of the civilization of western Europe. Indeed, he writes with more sympathy and hopefulness about the American scene than do many native sons of the present day. (He notes, incidentally, that a vein of excessive self-criticism has been a constant feature of the American intellectual record.) He believes that American nationalism can and will fulfill itself by returning to its common roots in the North Atlantic community. Most Canadians will hope that he is right, but it is well to remember that many Americans foresee a very different destiny for their country. Some, with a "Fortress America" mentality, oppose close relations with outsiders of any description. Others believe that the United States, as a great world power, must not have exclusive relations with any one part of the world, but should extend the hand of friendship to all.

G. M. Craig.

Letters

WE HAVE WITH US TONIGHT . . . : E. A. Corbett;
Ryerson Press; pp. 222; \$4.00.

The title of this book is appropriate: few men in Canada have heard this traditional introduction more frequently than Dr. E. A. Corbett. And the many who have heard him speak will not need to be told what this book is about—all they need to know is that it's typical Corbettiana.

For the unfortunate few who have never met Dr. Corbett, it may be said that this is a special kind of autobiography: the story of a man whose history is inseparable from that of a national movement. It is in effect a highly informal account of the origins and development of the adult-education movement in Canada—and those who think such a subject is dull don't know Dr. Corbett. His gift has always been to enliven abstract topics by bringing them down to a human level, and in this story his emphasis is, as always, on the people involved.

The first half of the book deals with Dr. Corbett's adventures in the sixteen years he spent in western Canada working for the Extension Department of the University of Alberta. Here you'll find his famous account of the production of *Macbeth* in a small pioneer settlement; how Station CKUA developed the first provincial radio network; the trials and tribulations of the rural film circuit; and how the Banff School of Fine Arts started.

The second half of the book deals with the next fifteen years of Corbett's mission: as first director of the newly formed Canadian Association for Adult Education. Today the CAEE has become so familiar a part of our life that it's hard to remember it was organized as recently as 1936. Its links with the "men of St. Francis Xavier," the beginning of Farm Forum and Citizens' Forum, and various other experiments are all outlined with Dr. Corbett's characteristic personal touch.

We Have With Us Tonight . . . is important for the light it throws on many projects that are now firmly rooted in

our national life, but you'll probably remember it for the little vignettes of people Dr. Corbett encountered in his educational odyssey. At one stage he threatened to call the book "Queer Birds I Have Known," and certainly he appears to have known not only a great many unconventional souls but a large percentage of the men who have helped to shape our national destiny over the past half-century.

Unlike most books, this one leaves you wishing it was longer. Dr. Corbett's approach is always direct and unsentimental, and he lards the narrative with the anecdotes that have made him famous. There's something to interest everyone here: I myself can hardly wait to ask him for the last two verses of the song about "the de'il" which he claims is "the Scottish Educators' national anthem."

Edith Fowke.

REFLECTED LIGHTS: Frank Panabaker: His story in words and pictures. Ryerson; pp. 159; \$5.00.

Much of Canada, pictorially and textually, is explored in this intimate and fascinating volume, made up of a series of reminiscent chapters on persons, places and things, supported by twenty-four illustrations of which twelve are in color. These plates are the brilliant result of the author's work as a professional painter by which he reveals the often unfamiliar and memorable beauty of the Canadian countryside.

Some splendors of the arts, some joys in things seen and in friends new and old—in these essays the author records the impressions of his experiences which he holds golden. Chapters which the reader is likely to find most enjoyable—though he will relish them all—are *The Emergency*, *The Kite* (there is a literary kinship here with Somerset Maugham), *Self-expression* (a Narcissus reflection, but how common), *The Exhibition*, *Easy Money*, and a friendly yet penetrating appraisal of the late Fred Brigden, remembered for his wide benevolence and unobtrusive kindness not less than for his highly developed skill as a painter in water-colors and oils. This is an excellent piece of writing wherein narration is blended with observation and sympathy with sense. Of Smollett it was said he was one of the few writers of the age that stand upon their own foundation, without patronage and above dependence. I know of no one to whom those words more fittingly apply than to Frank Panabaker. Happily these virtues are reflected in his book.

To the designer praise is due for an uncommonly attractive volume, to the printer for the beautiful color plates, and to Lorne Pierce for an introduction, perceptive and witty, in which the life of the author is compactly and firmly if lightly sketched. This the reader would do well not to skip; it forms an integral part of the book, indispensable as it is readable.

William Colgate.

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(Continued from front page)

competition of the potlatch. What could be more agreeable than to put an obnoxious aunt to shame by requiring her parsimonious gift of a ball-point pen done up in yellow crepe paper and tinsel ribbon, with a bottle of *Château Yquem*? Whether she enjoys it is beside the point: a brief glance at the price list in the local liquor store will be enough to humiliate her. There is only one way for her to get even, and that is to invite the giver of the gift to share it. This is the protestant contribution to civilization: enlightened self-interest.

It has from time to time been demonstrated that our economy depends on waste. For some reason the wise men who discover this are shocked by it. But the life of man itself is wasteful: what is it but a brief (sometimes glorious, sometimes mean) furious expenditure of breath and energy, and all to go singing to the grave? Nothing indeed could be more splendidly wasteful than Christmas, when young forests are decimated to put a dying tree in every household—no longer worshipped, but still admired with its glittering baubles and colored lights. Enough turkeys are massacred to give indigestion to a whole continent. The east yields its spices, the south its raisins and sultanas and figs; the orchards of the west give up their pears and apples; the groves of the Americas provide nuts, the ancient vineyards of Europe pour out their wines and brandies. All this is to be eaten or drunk or merely stared at and thrown out with the garbage. It is all waste, all useless; but it is not in vain, even economically, because it stimulates the commerce by which we exist.

That many aspects of the North American Christmas are cheap and vulgar is undeniable. It is no less true of North American religion generally, which, take it all around, is a fairly sickening thing. But one has become very bored at hearing complaints about the commercialization of this happy festival from the very people who profit by it. And so, a merry Christmas to us all.

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